THE WORLD TOMORROW

Poets and Mystics In a Machine Age

E. Merrill Root

What Is Violence?

George A. Coe

Ukraine White Coal

J. B. MATTHEWS

If Germany Re-arms--

H. N. BRAILSFORD

OCTOBER 19th

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This Week's Anniversary

JOHN DEWEY

Born October 20, 1859

I once heard a distinguished lawyer say that the earlier American ideas about individual initiative and enterprise could be recovered by an amendment of a few lines to the federal Constitution. The amendment would prohibit all joint stock enterprises and permit only individual liability to have legal status. He was, I think, the only unadulterated Jeffersonian Democrat I have ever met. He was also logical. He did not delude himself into supposing that the pioneer gospel of personal initiative, enterprise, energy and reward could be maintained in an era of aggravated corporate capital, of mass production and distribution, of impersonal ownership and of ownership divorced from management. . . .

In a society so rapidly becoming corporate, there is need of associated thought to take account of the realities of the situation and to frame policies in the social interest. Only then can organized action in behalf of the social interest be made a reality. We are in for some kind of socialism, call it by whatever name we please, and no matter what it will be called when it is realized. Economic determinism is now a fact, not a theory. But there is a difference and a choice between a blind, chaotic and unplanned determinism, issuing from business conducted for pecuniary profit, and the determinism of a socially planned and ordered development. It is the difference and the choice between a socialism that is public and one that is capitalistic.—From *Individualism: Old and New.*

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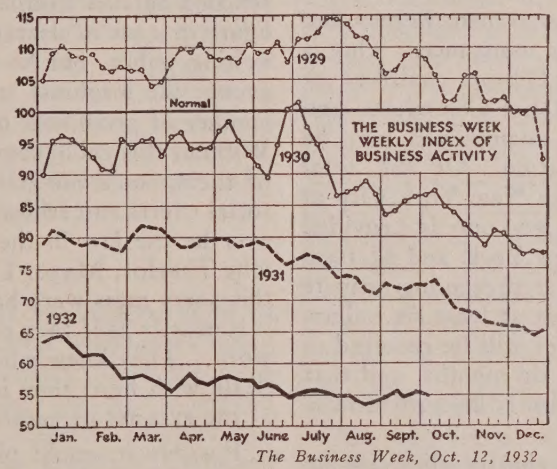
st Around the Corner?

President Hoover's chances of re-election depend ry largely upon a turn of the tide of business de- ession. In certain previous campaign years a marked siness revival during the weeks just preceding the ction has changed millions of votes. It is natural, erefore, that the supporters of the Republican Party ould seize eagerly upon every indication of return- g prosperity, and that they should exude optimism to the future.

That there has been a marked improvement in the orale of business men since the panicky days of spring nd summer seems unques- onable. Examination of the levant data, however, re- als clearly that the gains e chiefly psychological and ot material. The chart which ppears on this page deserves areful study on the part of ll voters. It was prepared or publication in *The Busi- ess Week* "from eight series f weekly figures—steel mill perations, building contracts, ituminous coal production, lectric power output, non- ulk car loadings, check pay- nents outside New York, commercial loans of report- ng Federal Reserve member banks, and currency in irculation." The alert reader will notice that the rise rom the low level of August is negligible in contrast o the steady decline for three years. Moreover, there vas a slight temporary advance in September of 1929, 930 and 1931, due to seasonal factors, followed by a nore drastic decline in October of each year.



The Business Week, Oct. 12, 1932

An impressive contrast may be observed between he headlines exulting over the business revival and he detailed figures which reflect the actual situation. 'Schwab Predicts New Prosperity," "Leaders in In- dustry See Proof of Upturn," "Steel Output Rose 21.6 per cent in September," and similar headlines seek o give the impression that prosperity is returning. Yet he data presented beneath the headlines frequently reveal the absurdity of such a claim. The output of steel did rise 21.6 per cent in September but, even after the advance, production climbed no higher than 17⅓ per cent of capacity!

Random selections taken from the press during the past few days reveal a disturbing outlook. *The Financial Chronicle,* on October 8, said: "The New York stock market this week has again fallen into a state of complete demoralization. . . . Another depressing feature has been a new eruption of weakness in commodity prices, both wheat and cotton having sharply declined." The daily record of stock market trend published by the New York *Herald Tribune* on October 11 placed the index figure at 83, as compared with 94 at the high point in September and 74 at the low point in July. The New York *Times* reports that "the adjusted index of automobile production is 16.7 for the week ended October 8, as against 19.2 for the preceding week and 37.8 for the corresponding period last year. The previous low record was 14.6 for the week ended November 7, 1931." In the daily press of October 11, we read: "Wheat made new season lows for all deliveries today. . . . Cotton market losses gain as stocks decline."

Subsequent events may prove that the low level has been reached and that henceforth the trend will be upward. But the voter should demand more substantial evidence that prosperity is just around the corner than the campaign utterances of frightened candidates for public office.

Fourth Year of the American Dole

Campaign orators are now roaming the country boasting that the present Administration has saved the American system of individualism from destruction, and promising that if returned to office the Republican Party will resist all assaults upon the sacred ark. A favorite theme is found in "the terrible dole system" which prevails in many European countries. Perspiration flows freely as campaign spell-binders expose the menace of unemployment insurance and extol the superior virtues of throwing every man upon his own initiative and compelling him to provide for himself and his family. And if in certain cases relief is absolutely necessary, let it come from private sources rather than in the form of public aid. The idea of

an unemployed worker receiving governmental assistance is presented as degrading, whereas private charity is supposed to unlock the doors of human sympathy and vicarious sharing.

But what is the actual practice at the present time? Capitalism is functioning so inefficiently that at least 10 million workers are unable to find employment, and the number may exceed 12 millions. Long ago millions of these unfortunates exhausted their own resources and were made dependent upon their relatives or some other form of charity. Private philanthropy is no longer able to carry the burden of relief, due to the enormous number of victims involved, and the further fact that the sources of philanthropy are being dried up by the prolonged economic drouth.

In New York City there are at present 1,150,000 unemployed, according to a reliable estimate by the Welfare Council. This means that more than one-third of the working population of the community is no longer employed. An unknown number of these persons are still able to provide for themselves, but in the city there are at least 500,000 men, women and children who must receive public assistance. This is the estimate of Mr. Harvey D. Gibson, chairman of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, and the actual number of destitute unemployed may be much greater than this calculation. Of the total monthly expenditures for relief in New York City at the present time the sum of $2,700,000 is provided by the treasury of the City of New York, and $1,300,000 by the Gibson Committee, representing private philanthropy. It is estimated that at least six million dollars per month for direct relief will be required in New York City during the next six months, and that not less than four millions will have to be provided by the city treasury.

Private initiative and private charity alike are insufficient. Public responsibility and public aid are indispensable. The really significant question is this: Shall we submit the victims of unemployment to the indignity of charity, or shall we make them the beneficiaries of a national system of unemployment insurance?

Einstein Accepts American Appointment

Professor Albert Einstein, who is widely regarded as the most illustrious scientist since Isaac Newton, has accepted a life appointment at the recently established Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. This new institution was endowed with a generous benefaction of five million dollars by Louis Bamberger and Mrs. Felix Fuld, of Newark. Housed temporarily in one of the buildings of Princeton University, the Institute will remain entirely separate from Princeton and all other educational institutions. It will be open to a select group of advanced students and research specialists, and the hope is expressed that it may become "a scholar's paradise." Professor Einstein to occupy the chair of Mathematics and Theoretic Physics, and will be in residence annually from C tober 1 to April 15, spending the remainder of ea year in Europe.

The significance of Dr. Einstein's coming to th country is found not exclusively in the fact that h is one of the world's great scientists, but also b cause he is passionately devoted to the cause of inte national peace. His presence among us should arou wider interest in war resistance and should strengthe the cause of pacifism.

Is Insull To Be Made a Scapegoat?

Anyone who has regard for social decency or appr ciates the meaning of law will ardently hope that ap propriate punishment will promptly be meted out t the members of the Insull family who were at the cen ter of the infamous investment schemes that go unde their family name. But why stop when we hav reached Samuel Insull? He is, to be sure, the centra figure in a set of dastardly schemes for fleecing the in vesting public, but he is only the central figure of a group, the brightest star in a constellation. A large number of prominent financiers collaborated with him Without this collaboration the Insull schemes, or some of them, could not have been "put over." As far as social effects and ethical relations are concerned (whatever be the law in the case), Owen D. Young, Melville Traylor, Mayor Cermak, and their companions in this sorry mess were backers and therefore principals; it is exactly as if they employed Insull to do their dirty work. They knew what he was doing; they made sly deals with him; they intended to profit, under cover, at the expense of uninformed investors.

Possibly it would please these collaborators if the resentment of the public should now concentrate upon the name of Insull. A scapegoat would be most convenient! But if the mulcted investors and the public at large should in their excitement overlook, and afterwards forget, that hundreds of the ordinary run of financiers, and several of the most respected figures that combine economic and political power, were associated with Insull in nefarious jobs—if this should be overlooked, the ends of social justice would be thwarted, no matter what the courts do with Insull.

We should be blind if we failed to perceive that Insullism, Youngism, and Traylorism are one and the same "ism." The alleged crimes of the head of the wrecked public utility companies are not isolated or fortuitous occurrences; they did not just happen because of somebody's innate depravity; they are the fruit of a tree that spreads its roots through the entire nation. We are witnessing a true manifestation of the human meaning of the economic order under which we are living—or struggling to keep alive. Capitalism

such is a systematized method of unequal bargain-; it is a way of getting more than one really pays , and of appropriating to oneself the product of ers' industry. Investors who have lost their sav-s through the plottings of high and wild finance uld understand that the evil from which they are ffering is a sickness of the whole investment struc-e, and of the whole structure of capitalism.

It would be wholesome, likewise, to reflect upon the aning of "savings." It is indeed a cruel thing that n should work hard through a lifetime, live frug-y, deal honestly, and thereby lay up something for l age only to see their accumulations shrink into a w pieces of worthless paper. But if we take a broad ew of such situations, we shall ask how it happens at thousands have had money to invest, in the ag-egate an enormous amount, at the very moment nen not thousands but millions of our fellow citizens ere in dire straits. Is it not true that small invest-s have been playing the same game as the great ones, d that the power of the strong financiers to hurt the eak investor resides in an order of things that the eak themselves approve and protect? This question pplies, let it be reiterated, not alone to speculative anias, but also to our sober, everyday capitalistic rocesses. Insullism is simply ripened capitalism. Let s punish those who violate law, but let us not make f them scapegoats for our own sins!

A Brave Reversal

Many a wartime superpatriot has had occasion to ake back publicly rash and untrue statements made uring the heat of the last conflict. Not all have vailed themselves of the occasion. But that is not the ase with the Reverend A. C. Coburn, head of the ell-known Wooster School near Danbury, Connecti-ut. In a striking sermon at the First Congregational hurch of Danbury, Mr. Coburn recently recalled an-ther sermon he had preached from the same pulpit luring the War. The War sermon "caused favorable omment among the clergy and created no little stir n the community. It was printed and I have it now efore me." What does Mr. Coburn now think of is earlier and widely praised remarks? "I am grate-ful for the opportunity of standing in the same pulpit oday and publicly retracting those sentiments. The sermon was a deliberate attempt to make people be-lieve God was not and could not be interested in any but the cause of the Allies, and that Germany was the emissary of evil. I picked out from the propaganda that had been given me the most extreme examples of guilt. Now we know that whatever her guilt, Ger-many does not bear alone the responsibility for the War. My deliberate attempt to incite hatred shows how bloodthirsty I was. . . . I now see light on the horizon. I realize armaments are never a protection, but always an aggravation to those we might call enemies. In war there is no winner."

The cynic might, in the face of this retraction, call it belated or socially futile. We call it courageous good sense and utter manliness.

The Coolidge Committee

The designation of Calvin Coolidge and Alfred E. Smith by a group of big investors to head an unofficial committee on the future of the railroads is a step which may mean something or nothing. It may evaporate in the platitudes for which the sage of Northampton is noted and the plight of the carriers may go on as before. If the committee really grapples with the problem, however, we shall miss our guess if the further taxation of motor busses or the scaling down of a few top-heavy financial structures will be sufficient to give an adequate return to the savings banks and private investors who bought the railway bonds under the impression that they were acquiring gilt-edged securities. If the boom days of 1929 do not return again, and it is our belief that they will not for a long time, then there will be a drive for further loans by the government, which will mean a still further piling up of debt upon an industry already overburdened with obligations. It would be a strange turn of events if the great apostle of individualism should be forced to recommend partial government ownership as a means of enabling the investors to get out with their skins. But stranger things have happened, and socialistic measures in Western countries have often been put into effect by men who in their hearts did not believe in them.

That Postal Deficit

Any speaker on socialism these days is sure to be bombarded with questions concerning the deficit of the postoffice. The fact that postal revenues are exceeded by expenditures is considered by many as conclusive proof of the inefficiency of government operation. Just what is the situation?

The last annual report of the Postmaster General shows that for the year which ended June 30, 1931, the gross deficit of that department was slightly in excess of 146 million dollars—which looks pretty bad for government enterprise. About 48 millions of this amount, however, are accounted for by expenses involved in three items: nearly 12 million dollars in free services rendered other governmental offices, including members of Congress under the franking provision; a loss of 17 millions on air mail; and a subsidy of nearly 19 millions to American vessels engaged in carrying oceanic mail. The actual postal deficit for the year was approximately 98 million dollars. What were its chief sources? The loss did not come from first class mail, for the figures show a net gain of nearly 47 millions in this category. But eloquent testimony is borne

by the statistics covering second class mail. From publishers' second class the total revenues for the year approximated 26 millions, whereas the expenditure for carrying this mail was about 123 millions—a net loss of 97 millions, or an amount almost exactly equal to the net deficit for the entire postal service of the nation. That is to say, the political power of the press was so great that the rates on newspapers and other periodicals were so low that they covered less than one-fourth of the actual cost of rendering this service. If this subsidy to publishers had been withdrawn and second class mail required to pay fair rates, the postoffice would have had no deficit whatever.

The figures for the previous year were: net postal deficit, about 59 millions; gain from first class, 71 millions; loss on publishers' second class, 90 millions. And for the year which ended June 30, 1929: net post deficit, 57 millions; gain from first class, nearly 79 millions; loss on publishers' second class, 94 millions. Which means that the financiers who own the nation's press are primarily responsible for the deficit of the postoffice, and not an inefficient bureaucracy.

Republican Ireland

The King's acceptance of the resignation of James McNeill as Governor General of the Irish Free State on the advice of De Valera reveals the far-reaching consequence of the policy adopted by the imperial conference of 1930, according to which the prime ministers of the dominions, rather than the premier of England, advise the King on crown appointments in their respective dominions. If De Valera advises the King that he wishes the office of governor general consolidated with that of the president of the council, there is nothing that the King can do about it under the new imperial policy. All of which means that Ireland, as any other dominion, is able to secede from the empire if she desires.

With practically every political tie which binds the empire together destroyed, it is rather natural that British imperialists should desire to augment the sentimental bonds of imperial union with economic ones. That is the significance of the Ottawa Conference and its trade and tariff agreements. But these new economic bonds may be more dangerous than the old political ones. England will probably have to pay a high price for the imperial preferences which she has granted the dominions. For she must raise her tariff to other countries in order to establish these preferences. It is doubtful whether British commerce and British public opinion will long bear the additional burdens upon the British pocketbook which this policy makes inevitable. Perhaps the British empire will become an increasingly loose federation of states, at least as far as the self-governing dominions are concerned—in which case Ireland may actually slip out of the empire without bloodshed. But her proximity to Engla and her dependence upon British markets may me that Britain can hold her in the empire without bloo shed.

Tammany Triumphant

Perhaps the historian of the future may regard ci government in New York in the Year of our Lo 1932 as the revelation of the last degradation of der ocracy in a decadent age. Tammany's cynical defian of all public decencies and its contemptuous disrega of the public disapproval aroused by the Seabury i vestigations came to a dismal and dramatic climax la week. At the beginning of the week the combine efforts of Governor Smith and Governor Rooseve defeated Tammany in the Democratic state conve tion. So complete was its rout and so obvious wer serious defections in its own ranks that the press eve spoke of the disintegration of the Tammany machin By Thursday of the same week the machine was com pletely rebuilt and offering defiance to the city. O that day the Court of Appeals held that a city electio must take place this fall. On the evening of th same day a county convention of twenty thousand me picked a candidate for mayor who had been previousl handpicked by four bosses. Mayor Walker took him self out of the campaign in a radiogram from the se which fairly reeked with hypocrisy.

The possibility of opposition from Acting Mayo McKee to Tammany dominence was overcome by a deal with Mayor McKee's overlord, the Democrati boss of the Bronx. The Republican opposition wa bought off previously by giving Senator Hofstadter the Republican chairman of the Seabury committee, a place on the Tammany ticket for a Supreme Court posi tion. The Republican convention ratified this agreemen a day later by picking a nonentity to run against th Tammany candidate. The "good citizens," organize in the Committee of One Thousand, ran around in cir cles trying to find a suitable candidate, but failed. They are going to "withhold their fire" until the regula election of 1933 when a fickle public will have forgot ten all about the scandals of 1931-32. The only effec tive opposition to the Tammany ticket will come from Morris Hillquit the Socialist candidate. But he will not be elected. Thus Tammany after one of the worst scandals in its long unsavory history will ride triumphantly into power once more. Perhaps it ought to be added that Governor Roosevelt is highly gratified at the turn of events, for a split in the Democratic ranks has been avoided and the Tammany strength will therefore redound to Roosevelt's benefit in the national election. An efficient oligarchy using the instruments of democracy to circumvent its spirit is almost impregnable, given the social character and the political ignorance of the average urbanite in our pathetic era.

Mr. Hoover's Program for Agriculture

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S Des Moines address was notable for the obstinacy with which he defended the protective tariff and the gold standard. r nearly seventy years Republican orators have deed the trusting farmers of the Middle West into lieving that their chief source of protection lies in tariff, and although the deception is now wearing n, President Hoover continues the tradition of passt this false intellectual coinage. He paints the usual rrible picture of the huge stocks of agricultural ods which other nations would pour in upon us were not for the agricultural tariffs which, he implies, are e great dikes maintaining farm prices and preventing nomic inundation.

The plain truth of the matter, however, is that west- wheat and lard and southern cotton and tobaccos e exported by us in vast quantities. If these comodities can bear the expense of being transported five ousand miles to Europe, and yet find a competitive ace in the market there, they need not fear competion in the home market where they will not have to y the transportation costs but where those of other ountries will. Our agricultural tariffs have always en used as eye-wash to deceive the gullible farmers the Mississippi Valley, and President Hoover evitly believes that the sons and daughters of the iddle Border are still as politically illiterate as they ere in the days when, as a young child, he lived mong them.

If the farmers of Iowa were sensible, no argument ould be required to help them realize that our tariff primarily effective only on manufactured products. t consequently increases the prices of the goods which armers buy, and by depriving Europe of the opporunity to sell to us prevents them from buying as large quantity of farm products from us as it otherwise ould and hence decreases agricultural prices in the ome market. Not only have the manufacturers of he East bled the Middle-Westerner white ever since he Civil War, but they have made the West like it nd swear devotion to the party which has oppressed hem. If Hoover is able to deceive the Middle Border gain with such arguments, one can only conclude that n his judgment of popular intelligence Phineas T. Barnum was absolutely right and Abraham Lincoln ntirely wrong.

It is perhaps unfair to subject Mr. Hoover's tariff ogic to the cold tests of common sense, but it may be sked, nevertheless, if foreign countries have the huge gricultural surpluses of which Mr. Hoover speaks and re as protectionist as he claims, how does he expect them to buy our farm products in return for the reduction of their debts to us?

In similar fashion, President Hoover tries to picture himself as a silent and abused Titan who, by dint of superhuman efforts, succeeded in keeping us on the gold standard and thereby averted the disastrous consequences of a rise in prices. This is as though a shipwrecked sailor, who discovering that his supposed lifepreserver is in reality loaded with lead, should still cling triumphantly to it as he and his fellows are carried down to lower depths and then proudly point to his tenacity as proof that all were secure. In common with the rest of the world, we have been suffering during the last three years from a catastrophic deflation of prices. This has not only lowered the prices of farm products by much more than the general average but it has greatly increased the burden of farm mortgages and of other such fixed debts. The $25,000 farm of three years ago has dwindled in price until today it is worth scarcely more than $15,000. But the original mortgage has remained. The farmers have therefore been flattened out on this anvil of inflexible money debts by the hammer of falling prices. It must be a source of great consolation to these children of distress to be told that, thanks to Hoover, the gold standard is secure, and any danger of a general upward movement of prices has been eliminated.

The present depression has witnessed the intellectual deflation of the stuffed shirts of the bull-market era. But the present intellectual destitution of the orthodox gold standard group is even more glaring. In the midst of a world suffering from deflation, they oppose reflation. Although the need for putting additional monetary purchasing power in the pockets of the consumers so that they can start buying should be patent to all, they still brazenly insist that governmental expenditures should be still further curtailed, thus making the depression more severe. The supposedly orthodox have in this emergency been revealed in reality as the economists of bedlam.

By his strict and unbending individualism, President Hoover has long since demonstrated his unwillingness to extend adequate social protection to the unemployed wage-earners and small salaried workers. By his Des Moines speech, he has shown himself ignorant as to how to protect the farmers and small business men upon whom in the past his party has depended for votes. In keeping, moreover, with the almost invariable sequence of events during the present depression, his address was followed by a precipitate and continued decline in the prices of both stocks and commodities.

The Alleged Slump In Morals

THE wails over the moral slump that is alleged to have overtaken the world are becoming tiresome. They are tiresome partly because they repeat over and over a set of platitudes concerning present conditions, partly because they do not look beneath symptoms to our great social disease, partly because they take the present ethical muddle of religious thought as ethical clarity. Those who betake themselves to the wailing wall fail to grasp the rudimental ethical relations and causes that stare us in the face.

Here is an outline of one of these wails: Morals are in decay—this is the reason for lawlessness and political corruption, the dominance of money-making, the unscrupulousness of business. The decay is evident in the search for pleasure and excitement; the carelessness, frivolity, and emptiness of private lives; the crumbling of the home; the revolt of youth from the wisdom of the ages. The War brutalized us; the machine has mechanized us; industrialism destroys home life, causes postponement of marriage, the misuse of "birth-control." Invention has added the automobile to the instruments of unregulated desire for liquor and sex. Religious sanctions are weakening, and morality is undertaking to "go it alone," independently of religion. "Too bad, too bad!" is the attitude.

Not a word here about starvation in the midst of plenty as an ethical phenomenon; not a word about disintegration of personality through unemployment; not a syllable about the ethical significance of centralized control of the national wealth; silence about modern nationalism, our military expenditures, and our international duplicity and evasion; no realization that our political conventions are signs of our moral status, and no recognition of the revolt against injustice.

To such wailers the true answer is: This which saddens you is no more a slump than is the autumnal falling of acorns from an oak tree. What we are witnessing is the ripening of the very thing that you call morality and the wisdom of the ages. Society is diseased, personality is disintegrating, it is true, but the disease and the disintegration were already present in the society to which you longingly look back, but their true nature was not recognized.

These saddened souls are looking back to the Victorian era, the years when men now old were in their youth. How many were the sweet amenities of life in those days! How reverent we were! How rigorous were our codes of morality! How readily we accepted discipline! How quick was our sympathy with misfortune! How upward was our look! "Oh yeah?" one might reply in the current lingo. The fact is that the high-toned life that is represented to us in, s the idealistic poetry of Tennyson and Browning, w parasitic and degenerative, not creative nor even se sustaining. For it presupposed a laboring class fr which the high-toned elements of society drained the means for their culture.

This relation of the classes, either unrealized as fact or else accepted as a natural incident in a go world, introduced into the whole social organism t disease germ of evasion, duplicity, the treatment minor morals as major, self-identification with speci privilege as if it were the eternally right, and inabili to understand discontent or to do simple justice. T hollowness of adult life, and the misdirection of you that we witness today, were there already. This stat ment applies not only to factory conditions, again which a struggle took place with partial success, b also to the seemingly innocuous conduct of the con fortable business and professional classes. What the took to be high character included self-deception at vital point, for it harbored the very injustice that t day makes millions hungry. Not only did the "goo man" of that era appropriate to himself and enjoy th fruits of economic injustice, he protected the syste and caused it to be intrenched in politics, morals, r ligion, and education. Not only low-down politica tricksters, but high-minded "statesmen" molded law courts, and world-policies to fit the supposed self-in terest of a class. The churches interpreted love a condescending kindness, not as justice. The school and colleges offered in part a leisure-class "culture," in part vocational equipment for riding on the back of laboring men. The family organization of tha day rested upon the economic inequality of the sexes and this inequality was sanctified at every marriag ceremony performed by a minister. Thus was per sonality warped at every turn of "the better classes' as well as at every turn of the exploited masses.

Slump? In the entire history of the world, politica states have been instruments whereby some have main tained an economic advantage over others. More over, the political instruments of economic oppressio have been regularly associated with religious instru ments, and with formal or informal educational in struments.

"Gentlemen," a college president is reported to have said to his students, "there is one thing in this world that you may rely upon with utter confidence; it is 'the morning head' "—meaning the after-effects of nights of alcoholic dissipation. What we are suffering from is not decay in morals, but "the morning head" after ethical dissipation.

as Brailsford sees it

If Germany Re-arms—

THE duty of Socialists inside Germany is not te the same as that Socialists elsewhere the controversy over naments that is shaking Europe to its foundations. hat is a normal state of things. It is the first prinple of the Socialist International that each national rty should direct its militant efforts primarily against e capitalist enemy in its own country. The German cial Democrats are acting loyally in preparing with their resources of conviction and discipline to resist e revival of militarism on which Herr von Papen d General von Schleicher are bent. They know as ell as we do, how direct is the responsibility of the ctors of Versailles for this reaction, but their cue is fight it at home. They have to meet much more an a proposal to re-arm, more even than a plan, by ccessive stages, to restore conscription. Partly by ganized propaganda skilfully directed by the govnment, partly by a spontaneous response to the drift events, the mind of the German nation, or at least its middle class, is thinking again in the concepts nd emotional colors of 1914. A civilian republic hich had relaxed its limbs and dropped its helmet oves again to a rigid goose-step. The German Soialists have the difficult task of holding back their oung men, and all the while they must face the taunt hat the are indifferent alike to their country's shame nd to her peril. They must bear the reproach that ey are in league with neighbors whose militarism ffers from that of our own government only in being galized and immeasurably more formidable.

On us the rule of Socialist honor imposes the opposite duty. It is our part to insist that this situation as made by our own governments, which even now, hen they use relatively liberal language, are aggrating and prolonging it. It may be true, as Sir John imon with needless emphasis has insisted, that Gerany is still legally bound by the disarmament clauses f the Versailles Treaty. They were from the first a nisprint in history, a blot on the record of civilizaion. The failure of the Allies to keep their own romise to disarm has rendered them morally obsolete. Europe dare no longer attempt to impose on a great ation the helot status implicit in these clauses. Hisory long ago exploded the legend of Germany's sole uilt: we were all guilty of the war, if only because we had built no organization of peace. By that test we are still guilty as we face the perilous future, for with all our Leagues and Pacts we have still failed to erect a trustworthy barrier against war. Will the Cabinets of London and Paris, after the rape of Manchuria, have the effrontery to tell Germany that she must rely, for the defense of East Prussia, on the League that failed China? Königsberg is no less combustible than Shanghai, and Poland, which may equip herself with all the tools of aggression forbidden to Germany, has a record that may justifiably alarm a disarmed neighbor. She took Vilna in defiance of the League's veto, and her invasion of Russia was an unprovoked war of conquest. Such are the fears that our unorganized world lets loose, rampant and unanswerable, for a von Schleicher to enlist as propagandists for a revival of German militarism.

THE reader will know what at the moment of writing I cannot foresee—whether the Western Powers can persuade Germany to resume her place in the seemingly futile discussions at Geneva. There is only one tolerable solution for this problem—that the victors should disarm themselves down to the level imposed on Germany. No such proposal is under discussion, for the Russian scheme was long ago rejected with contempt. Mr. Hoover's plan does not approach it, for it leaves to America, and consequently to Britain and Japan, the instruments of aggression in which the English-speaking peoples specialize—monster battleships. The British government's note expressed sentiments as inflated as its claims for tonnage, but there is no reason to suppose that it is now ready even for the Hoover plan. It will not contemplate a reduction in the numbers either of battleships or cruisers, though it would when the moment for rebuilding arrives five years hence, consent to replace them very gradually by somewhat smaller and less costly vessels. Tanks it will not abandon, nor bombing airplanes, and it has even confined its renunciation of the right to rain death from the air upon civilian populations to times of formal war (which like others it has renounced) in order that the peoples of India and Irak may enjoy in peace this uncovenanted mercy. In one particular it would be glad to disarm down to the German level: it is ready to abolish French submarines.

Need I sweep the searchlight on France? It would disclose no greater readiness to disarm. She does, indeed, propose that heavy aircraft should be placed at the disposal of the League. That, however, would be a moral rather than a physical novelty; actually they would remain on French soil with French crews to man them. These subtleties are as yet the nearest approach that Europe and America have made to the unanswerable German argument. The Powers defined in the Treaty of Versailles very precisely and with perfect unanimity the armaments which they considered aggressive. When today they boast that they arm only for defense, they have but to apply these definitions to themselves.

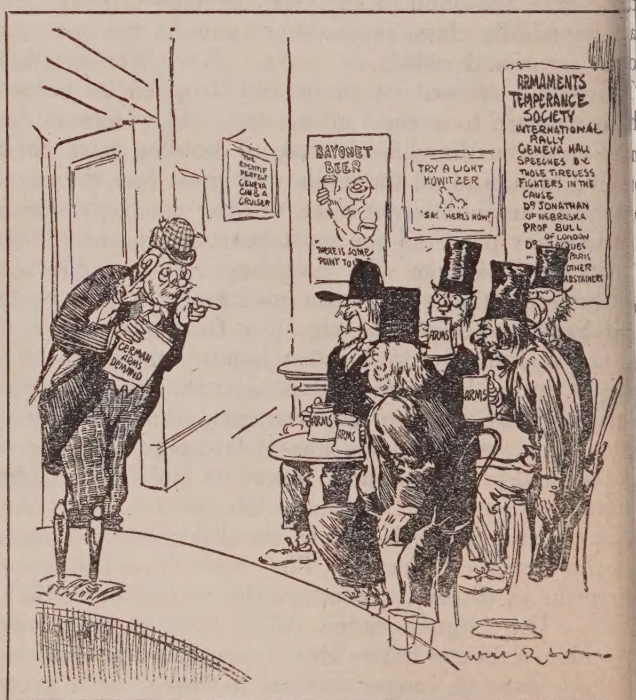
THERE is no need to say at length what every labor and socialist party in Europe is saying in perfect agreement. It can be said in a sentence: Geneva must not re-arm Germany; she must disarm the Western Powers. It is well, however, to face the prospect in front of us realistically. Of disarmament in this drastic, this only honest sense, there is no reasonable hope; there is not even a possibility. But if we dismiss the no longer pleasing illusion that the conference at Geneva was called to effect disarmament, the fact remains that it has a problem to settle: it faces the German question. There are two possible solutions. The first is that the Western Powers stubbornly adhere to the Versailles prohibitions, and invite Germany to swallow them once more, this time in a self-imposed treaty, which Sir John Simon with polite irony calls "voluntary." If that is really their intention—I do not believe that as yet they have any fixed policy—the chances are that Germany will refuse to negotiate on such a basis. In that event she will go her own way. Von Schleicher has burned his boats. He has said that Germany will re-arm "in any case." Precariously poised on an old man's prestige and the memories of a nation in arms, he can concede almost anything but this. He may reprieve Nazi murderers whom he had threatened to execute, but he dare not yield over re-armament.

The other possibility is that the Versailles victors, refusing to disarm themselves, may follow the apparently easy course of permitting the Germans a moderate measure of re-armament—enough to keep von Schleicher in the saddle, enough for that nation's self-respect, enough for her security—one may put it in several ways. She might be allowed to remodel but not to increase her army on a short term basis, to manufacture arms more freely, to build a few "whippet" tanks and smaller military airplanes—not enough to alarm the French very seriously, but enough to soothe the more nervous German voters at future elections. On the whole, I think, that is the policy to which the British government was inclined, though it vacillates and is, I suspect, of two minds; for MacDonald, himself a man who wavers and procrastinates to the last possible moment, wields no authority over his Cabinet. The *Times* has wri in this sense. It seems the easy way out, and it w buttress the only authority which has for a time chance of maintaining order and unity in Germa But it means the whittling away in its most sa chapter of the Versailles Treaty. It would be in preted in Warsaw as an abandonment by France of interests of her Polish ally; it would sanction the re rection of Hohenzollern Germany.

These are, one would suppose, daunting if not f objections. Unfortunately the other course is o to each and all of them in a much more alarm form. If Germany re-arms without consent, then Versailles system is not whittled away: it is smash The Hohenzollern spirit resumes power with a defi and revolutionary gesture. Germany would leave League, and thereafter it would matter little if Ja and Italy should in their turn quit the ruin. T would reflect the real fact of world-chaos rather t accurately to be tolerable to persons with any pret sions to a diplomatic training. It would show us t world as it is. For a world that dare not disarm already a chaos.

H. N. Brailsford

London, September 23, 1932



"All right, my friends, if you von't ask me to have some drin ings mit you, I von't come to your demperance meeting!"— *Dyson in the London Daily Herald.*

Poets and Mystics in a Machine Age

E. MERRILL ROOT *

WE who were very young just before the World War, and who are not very old even now, have perhaps a better perspective of events an either the old or the young. The old cannot disciate themselves from ideas and ideals that died th the war to begin wars; the young cannot underand that one may look before and after James oyce, or that there were other futilities before the eace that is no peace. But we who have experinced two worlds outlive the illusions of the old nd overlive the disillusions of the young. Thus, recolecting the past in tranquillity, yet feeling present and uture with imagination and creative will, we may speak ith a candor impossible to the pre-War old and with n ardor impossible to the post-War young.

The World War was the beginning of the modern istemper, but of the War why say anything now?— is already one with yesterday's seven thousand years. hose days when all was unquiet on the Western front nd when they were fortunate who came early to their ourney's end are all summed up in the one wise hrase: *C'est la guerre.*

But the War's significance we can perhaps underand today. It was simply the Niagara-plunge of that arlier, easier world: the cataract in the river of what ome would call "The Decline of the West" and some "The Twilight of the Gods of Capitalism." It was he terrible moment that Carlyle long ago foresaw, the nevitable moment in that river to which men insisted on entrusting themselves and their cargoes when not one man in a barrel but hundreds of millions of men in a rudderless civilization were "shooting Niagara".

The psychology of the war-shadowed decade that followed was simply the battered stupor inevitable after such a plunge. Our philosophy was the rationalized headache of the survivors of Niagara. War-shadowed disgust weakening into the illusion called disillusion; cynicism born of blood and iron, and even more of the spider-webs of Versailles; reaction triumphant behind castor-oil in Italy and *Prejudices* in America—such was our fate. And our consequent philosophy (given reason by Mencken and rhyme by Edna Millay) was simply: "Eat, drink, and be dreary, for tomorrow is a candle lighting Vanity Fair."

All the literature of the last decade—and more particularly its popularity—must be understood in the light of this general psychology. It was a literature that spoke much of Main Street: but its authors' address was Futility Street. The resolute debunkers, from Sinclair Lewis, that Main Street Zola, to Mencken, that Rotarian Nietzsche on Chautauqua Circuit, dominated the scene. They were raised to eminence not through any merit of their own (the best of them as artist was Mencken, and the future will regard him as a prose General Booth who led boldly on his big base drum while loud-voiced lassies made their banjos bang): their importance was that they were the spokesmen of the fashionable mood, the major poets of a minor decade. They spoke to our condition; they made articulate the angry futility of our own hearts. They gave our thwarted inferiority relief in the childish game of calling our brother an ass; they were incapable of the higher scepticism of the great St. Francis who called the ass his brother. And though the prose spokesmen were our finest poets, the singers of futility were also popular: E. A. Robinson, that frost-bitten down-East Buddha of the sewing-circles of Maine; Edna Millay, bidding us clutch life, for the night comes when flesh can ache no more; Robinson Jeffers, yearning monotonously for the Nirvana of the eventual ice. The general futilitarian chaos explains also the ignoble army, men and boys, matrons and maids, who climbed on the bandwagon of the Decline of the West; the countless Little Boy Blues who came to blow their horns; the pedantic phantasia of James Joyce and the table-rappings of Gertrude Stein. The War had killed idealism: literature was merely the phosphorescence of its corpse.

BUT the fashions of this world passeth away. Thus, toward the end of the decade this literature provoked its own reaction. On the one hand, logical young worldlings like Hemingway saw that if creation is futile, then so is criticism. Therefore they began simply to record, in a hard, clear, lifeless, faintly weary way. Natural history, they said, is not to "poke the animals to make them roar," but to photograph them cleverly in their cages. On the other hand, there were the literary humanists. As a symptom they were psychologically significant: they showed that the debunkers had had their day and were ceasing to be; that men were bored with boredom; that the late Mr. Mencken was speaking as through a ouija-board, dimly. But in themselves they were spiritually insignificant. Nervous, academic, phobia-haunted, they were afraid, like Little Orphant Annies, that the goblins of the three R's—Russia, Rousseau, Romanticism—would get them

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if they didn't watch out. And they went down to no creative depths; they were rootless and sapless. They were content to be echoes of light—psychological moons, chaste and dead. They worshipped the mummies of classics, safely embalmed. They were standard bearers of the taboos and decorums and decencies—in short of the *fossil ideal.* Like sheep they had all gone to Harvard or to Princeton; and there was no life in them.

But meanwhile the American physique—the external power hiding the internal impotence—was expanding into a false but resounding prosperity. While our soul lay a-mouldering in the grave, our body went horribly marching on. Stocks soared; automobiles increased and multiplied and replenished the roads; there was a chicken in (almost) every pot; and a candidate for president could (theoretically) abolish poverty and raise votes rather than smiles. The river, below the cataract of the World War, spread sluggishly out into mud flats; the rudderless ship floated slowly in the dumb waters and amid the brown mud. Who heard the thunder of great waters just ahead?

APPARENTLY we supposed, even in an era that had discovered relativity, that the mud flats were permanent! America, at the edge of the sluggish water, changed to her poorest pilot. But even a good pilot, given the outmoded and rudderless ship, superficially repatched but fundamentally battered in every beam and badly leaking, could have done little in the rapids of depression. The leaking ship may somehow bump through the first rapids; it may even find what may euphemistically be called the green pastures and the still waters—temporarily. But it will carry passengers whose psychology has changed.

For whether or not human nature changes, human circumstances change—and, with them, human psychology. Hunger, desperation, humiliation, even the comparative poverty that denies accustomed luxuries, the proved fallibility of captains of industry both in profits and in prophecy—these have tossed a little dismay into our naïve childishness. Hard times spoiled the parlor scepticism of the debunkers. (Even Mr. Haldeman-Julius, that vane of the psychological weather, has returned from free thinking to socialism.) Hard times spoiled the easy decorum of the humanists. An amused poking of one's fellow passengers to make them roar and the cloistered contemplation of embalmed classics are ghastly pastimes on the deck of a civilization careening in the rapids—especially when grimy stokers, crowded out of a job in the hold, begin to pour threateningly onto the upper decks.

The dominant mood of the past decade had been "the impotently folded hands, but the articulately open mouth." The central idea (if such by courtesy it can be called) had been the fixed futility of man before what was picturesquely styled "the practical joking of God." Life, we were told, was a tragic circus where, in pla prose, we could only grin and bear it: we could cri cize, but we could not create; we could deny, but could not *do.* Yet when Russia became vitally impo sible, millions would not grin and bear it; the resu was the Soviets. When imperialism became impos ble, India and China would not grin and bear it; a the end is not yet. When Germany became impossibl millions would not grin and bear it; the result is Co munist and Nazi. In the face of Western examp and economic needs, Japan would not grin and bear i the result was guns jarring the Pacific calm. Alread —peace to Futility Street!—we enter the decade action and of affirmation. Increasingly, until fund mental solutions of conflicts are found, the mood of t world is going to be one of fanatic faith, or passionat action, by nations and classes. The psychologic weather has changed: men leave criticism and seek t create.

Whether for good or for bad, men begin to b lieve that there is no hope or help in things as they ar Already the mood made articulate by Mencken, Joyc Jeffers, etc., is as old fashioned as the Victorians, o more so. A new age of faith, more dogmatic an passionate than any since the Crusades or the Mo hammedan Conquests, is the ironic end of the decad of drifting impotence, of sentimental incredulity. I Russia, even from the close of the War, revolutio bore up against collapse and catastrophe; today mil lions are gathered or gathering around such millenia faith in a material Pantopia. Elsewhere the mos vital elements in capitalism realize that a literature o nihilism and an ignoble drifting are quicksands, an they turn increasingly toward direct action and forc of arms. Over the weary futilities of cerebral megalo politan journalists fall the shadows of Spartacus an Caesar.

THE new decade will act with scientific candor an ruthless realism. But it will use that realism first to sweep aside the opium of the intellectuals (which is the dogma of the fixed futility of man), an will act with terrible vision (idealism) and terrible energy (romance). It will answer the joking of Go —or shall we not say of man?—with scientific poli tics and planned economy. Capitalism as we know i —blind, ruthless, violent, in the dark; sentimental easy, illusioned, in the light—is without a future: i will end by some miracle of noble wisdom, or by fiat o one of the extremes, whether Left or Right.

What we should most desire is some miracle o noble wisdom, some creative revolution, bloodless wise, planned, serene: not an abdication of power b the masters of things as they are, nor a seizing o power by the infuriated masses, but a change in th

pirit of power, so that our leaders and our lead turn he drifting chaos into a planned economy, a politics ot of time but of eternity, a world of alabaster cities hat gleam undimmed by human tears. Creative states- ien could do it; they must do it, if it or something lse is not to be done in spite of them: but will they? Our spirits desire it; our minds doubt it.

If they do not, their destiny is oblivion. Another nd greater depression; the collapse and catastrophe f another war; a growing tension and revolt from within—the ways are many, the end one. If they do ot themselves change the world or allow others peace- ully to change it, there are two clear possibilities, both etter than the present chaos; both, with differing em- hases, creative.

The one is suggested by Fascist and Nazi, a move- nent, compared with conventional capitalism, quite evolutionary. Some symbol and dynamo of power, ome genius of action, will hear the hour of destiny when it strikes. And capitalism, instinctively under- tanding that the opium of the sceptics will no longer erve and that the *laissez faire* of drifting predatory greed is ending in collapse, will entrust the momentum of its gathered resources to the guidance of his audac- ty: Caesar will again come to Rome. Or if such a genius does not appear and if capitalism continues blindly its inept blunders and greedy violences, it will welter from disaster to disaster, from sordid misery to angry chaos, until it crashes down or is redeemed by Spartacus.

Either alternative, toward extreme of the Right or extreme of the Left, will be revolutionary. And the benefits and dangers of both will be curiously similar. Either will result in more efficient politics, a renewed vital zest, a planned economy that will make the life of the many materially better. Either, however, will deny liberty and the individual, and deify the state, that "coldest of cold monsters." In the sphere of economic and political good, either will be superior to the present order; in the sphere of the sane mind and the energetic spirit, either will be superior to the pres- ent order; in the sphere of the play of the soul which is free individuality, of the spontaneity of the inner life, of the genius of poetry and religion, both will be even worse than the present order—because more in- telligent and more successful. Either will represent the Kingdom Come of the engineers; the Utopia of the scientists; the Hail Columbia, Happy Land, of the experts—in short, the Dictatorship of the technicians. Either will be, even more than America today, a world of action and of acquisition (no longer, to be sure, selfish). It will be a world of triumphant extraverts. The day after tomorrow will be a bad day for phil- osophic anarchists, for rugged individualists (real ones—not Hoover's straw men), for mystics, for poets, for the world's Huckleberry Finns.

WHAT, then, should be the relation of free spirits to this world of the future? As realists, let us realize that it is inevitable: if the decline of the West is not to be the collapse of the West, the vital spirit and the scientific mind must take control and drive a drifting world. We should foresee historic destiny—and strive to make it heroic destiny. But we must in- sist that it will be, except as a basis for something beyond, simply a more intelligent working out of pres- ent values, not a transvaluation of values. There is within us a Keats, bursting joy's grape upon his palate fine; a Huckleberry Finn, objecting to being "combed all to thunder"; a Walt Whitman, loafing and inviting his soul; a Rupert Brooke, calling over the sheer lovely names of things, "One after one, like tasting a sweet food"; a stubborn lonely Thoreau; a Romeo and Juliet in the glamorous orchard where lovers' tongues sound silver sweet by night. A heaven of the extraverts will be, to such introverts, a hell. If tomorrow the world denies and thwarts these idle elements in its own soul, psychology might foretell the gathered dynamite of vital frustrations. Even a planned economy cannot survive if it supposes that man can live by bread alone (even with plenty of butter). Men live also, and even more, by lovely words, and by the dear follies of the senses and the lonely dreams of the soul. Thus the best friends of the modern world will be its worst enemies. Only those who, *sub specie aeternitatis,* transcend the beneficent tyranny of the bee-hive, the economic paradise of the engineers, the millenium of the scientific mind—in short, the horrible modernity of a too time-based world—can save the future from being a more successful present.

The post-War years, with their dreary prosperity on the one hand and their dreary disillusion on the other, were evil years. But those years are ended, or are ending. The atmosphere changes, the pitch steep- ens, the tempo quickens, the hour hand strikes and destiny begins. If the time itself is little, it is a great time in which to be alive. For it is ours, out of the wreck and sediment of predatory chaos, to build a world of planned economy; it is even more splendidly ours to have that fairer world from itself, by a trans- valuation of its values. The world itself will demand, and win, bread; we must do our best to help it—but we must also keep alive in its heart the love of the dancing star.

Survey of the Parties

There are still available a limited number of copies of Devere Allen's political chart, containing an analysis of each of the party platforms, biographical sketches of the candidates and party histories. The price of the survey is 10 cents apiece, 20 for $1.00, 100 for $4.00, 1000 for $35.00. Send orders to

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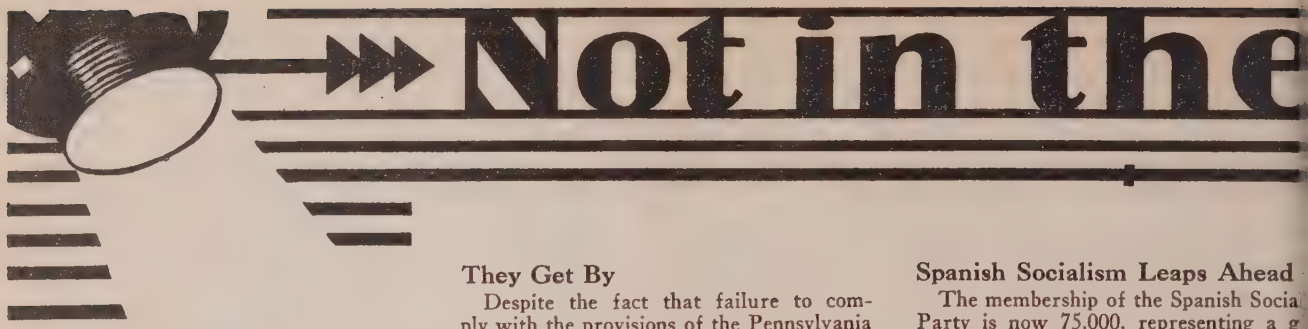

Colleges and Thomas

Thomas-for-President clubs have been formed in more than 123 colleges, and the rate of increase is so rapid that Clarence Senior, the Socialist Party's secretary, has announced that 300 such clubs will undoubtedly be in operation before election day. The club at the University of Wisconsin organized a meeting for Thomas with 6,000 in attendance. Johns Hopkins students have completed a seven-day campaign tour of Maryland. Minnesota students have combined Socialist campaign work with the picketing of a local building trades strike. At Yale, the club has opened headquarters in the busiest part of New Haven.

London Times Quotes Hearst

In proof of a statement that public opinion in the United States was hostile to Mr. Gandhi's fast, the London *Times* quoted the Hearst press as saying: "The Mahatma is a rather tiresome fakir to most Westerners."

The Military Mind

Colonel Stanley James, head of the signal corps unit of the R. O. T. C. at the University of Illinois, is quoted in the *Daily Illini* as saying: "As to compulsory military training, any one who will not take the instruction voluntarily will never amount to a great deal in daily contact with other individuals, as a person of this type is absolutely devoid of that characteristic, patriotism, which makes him an asset rather than a hindrance to his community."

Religion and Labor Foundation

The National Religion and Labor Foundation recently opened headquarters at 304 Crown Street, New Haven, Conn. The movement is supported by 114 prominent advocates of social change, including Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas, Jerome Davis, A. J. Muste, Harry F. Ward, Powers Hapgood, Robert Whitaker, A. Philip Randolph, F. J. Schlink, Edward I. Israel, and Stephen S. Wise. The foundation "stands for the interest of prophetic religion in building a workers' world." It is unalterably opposed to the present capitalistic organization of society. Its aim is "to help inspire the workers by hand and brain to take control of our economic life by organizing as workers, consumers and citizens."

They Get By

Despite the fact that failure to comply with the provisions of the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Act carries a penalty of from $100 to $500 fine, 58 of 364 compensation cases investigated by the Department of Labor and Industries revealed that the employer carried no insurance. During August alone, 197 employers not carrying such insurance were notified by the Labor Department.

Communist Candidate Attacks Socialist Party

The National Campaign Committee of the Communist Party has recently released an interview with Wm. Z. Foster, in which the Communist candidate for President is quoted as saying: "Both Republican and Democratic Parties have agreed upon and are carrying through a campaign to build up the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas in this election. . . . The Socialist Party, which is almost completely without any press of its own, has been presented free of charge with millions of dollars worth of publicity by the capitalist press . . . in the hands of Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, the tradition of Debs is made the merchandise for most unprincipled political commerce with the Republican Party, the party of starvation and war. . . ."

"Sacked at Sixteen"

A report of the British Ministry of Labor discloses the fact, as summarized by the British *New Leader*, that "the rate of unemployment among boys and girls aged 17 is double the rate among those aged 16." The Ministry has investigated a portion of these age groups amounting to almost five per cent of the total. The results from these cases, numbering 3,446 boys and 3,060 girls under eighteen years of age, were as follows:

Age	Boys	Girls
14 years	17.9 per cent	21.9 per cent
15 years	9.6 per cent	11.8 per cent
16 years	25.2 per cent	24.8 per cent
17 years	47.3 per cent	41.5 per cent

The high figures for age 14 is due to the inability to get a job immediately after leaving school. At age 16 juveniles become insurable under Britain's unemployment insurance program, and many employers simply dismiss the workers of this age in order to evade payment of their share of the insurance contributions. But at 17 higher wages usually have to be paid, hence the procedure of reducing the workers in that age by firing them and hiring cheaper workers of 15.

Spanish Socialism Leaps Ahead

The membership of the Spanish Socialist Party is now 75,000, representing a gain of 300 per cent since the fall of the monarchy in April, 1931.

Arrests in Bombay

The total number of convictions in the city of Bombay during the eight months ending on September 1 in connection with the civil disobedience movement, according to figures just reaching us from India, reached 3,550. This includes those who were convicted for breaking the orders of the police commissioner, issued under the repressive ordinances.

Attention of President Hoover!

The Economist, a leading financial journal of Great Britain, in a recent issue said editorially: "On Monday this week sterling celebrated the first birthday of its departure, for good or for evil, from gold. The year has been extremely chequered but on the whole sterling has thrived better than might have been expected—certainly much better than might have been inferred from the lugubrious prophecies heard immediately before the suspension of the gold standard."

Nazi Political Theory

Adolf Hitler, who is trying to be the German edition of Mussolini, has written his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*. In the first edition "Handsome Adolf" says the following: "The German has not the faintest notion how the people must be swindled in the process of organizing the mass following. Clever propaganda can dangle a heaven before the eyes of the people and transform the most miserable existence into a paradise—but the Germans do not understand that this is mere propaganda." The second edition omitted this passage.

Death for Profits

Schneider-Creusot, the largest French munitions makers, is angry. It received huge orders from the Japanese and added 50,000 men to its employees. Then Paul Faure, general secretary of the Socialist Party, revealed the whole nefarious business in the French Chambers. Schneider-Creusot at once struck back. Paul Faure was defeated at the last elections, when Schneider-Creusot ordered all its workers to vote against him. More than 200 Socialist workers were dismissed, because they refused to deny their Socialist membership. Others were driven out of their company-owned homes.

Headlines

Endorse British "Dole"

Joseph A. Franklin, president of the Boilermakers, and E. E. Milliman, secretary-treasurer of the Maintenance of Way Employes' Brotherhood, recently returned from attendance at the British Trade Union Congress as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor, and endorsed the "dole" or unemployment insurance in Great Britain as being of great benefit to the British trade unionists. Without the unemployment insurance system, they said, conditions would be infinitely worse. "The dole," they said, "has at least afforded workers a chance to eat and has eliminated breadlines and much of the poignant misery which is only too apparent on this side."

International Peace Prize

The New History Society has announced that its committee of judges for the peace prize essay contest for the colleges and universities has been completed. They will be as follows: M. Emile Borel, Member, Institute of France and chairman of French League of Nations Association; Viscount Cecil of Chelwood; Dr. Albert Einstein; Salvador de Madariaga; Professor Gilbert Murray; Col. Picot, former Cabinet Minister; Dr. Ludwig Quidde, Nobel Peace Prize winner; Dr. William E. Rappard, University of Geneva, and Devere Allen, editor, THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Where the People Own

The City of Toronto and Ontario province are discussed editorially by *Labor,* political organ of the 21 standard rail labor organizations of the United States and Canada, in a recent issue, with reference to the benefits from public ownership of electric light and power. The city, *Labor* points out, "owns its electric light distributing system and buys current from the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission. The city sells current to domestic consumers at an average price of less than two cents per kilowatt hour, as compared with an average price of around seven cents per kilowatt hour in the United States. At this low price, in the depression year of 1931, Toronto's plant earned operating expenses, interest, depreciation, taxes, sinking funds, and increased reserves and surplus, and still had a net profit of $233,720 left over. The business of the plant actually increased during the year. With a total investment of nearly $96,000,000, the debt of the system is only $21,479,000. Thus the city has been able, despite its low rates, to pay off more than 75 per cent of the original investment."

Socialist Women in Reichstag

Among the Socialist members of the new German Reichstag are 15 women.

Hoan Vetoes Navy Day

Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, has vetoed a resolution providing for free use of the municipal auditorium for the celebration of Navy Day, October 27.

Dutch Seamen Win

The settlement of the Dutch seamen's strikes means that the proposed wage cut of 20 per cent will not be put into effect and there will be no discrimination against men dismissed for taking part in the strike, the International Transport Workers' Federation has reported. The strike tied up the big liners of the Holland-American Line and the crew forced the Rotterdam into a home port when the officers tried to keep it out of the strike area.

National Consumers' New Secretary

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, of Richmond, Virginia, has been chosen as General Secretary of the National Consumers' League to succeed the late Florence Kelley, who founded the organization in 1899. Miss Mason, according to Miss Mary Dewson, chairman of the League's executive committee, has long been identified with industrial problems which are the concern of the League. Through the Richmond Y.W.C.A., the Virginia League of Women Voters, the Commission on Inter-racial Relations, and the Southern Council of Industry, Miss Mason has been a leader on behalf of women in industry throughout the entire South.

Married Women Laid Off

Women employes of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in San Francisco who are married and whose husbands are working will be laid off indefinitely, though without loss of service credits. If the husbands are working half time, the wives will be put on half time also. Any single employes who marry will be laid off if their husbands have a job. The company throughout the state has several thousand female employes, about a quarter of whom are married. The effect is expected by trained social observers to be the same as in Washington, among government employes—divorces and separations by arrangement, and concealment of marriages.

Methodist Colleges Flourish

Five colleges of the Methodist Episcopal Church report that student enrollments for 1932-33 exceed those of last year. Several schools experienced a record influx of students.

Socialist Premier's Program

Immediate action will be taken by the government of Sweden under Per Albin Hansson, Socialist premier, to reduce tariff barriers, to strengthen social insurance provisions, and to restrict military expenses. In these measures the Socialists believe they will be able to win enough popular support for victory, in spite of their minority in the parliament.

French Socialist Backs Versailles Revision

Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialists, declared in a recent editorial in *Le Populaire,* that the Versailles Treaty must be regarded as temporary only, and that the stand of the French Socialists was the same as that of the German Socialists and of international socialism.

Cooperative Gloves

After a four months' strike against a 40 per cent cut demanded by the Lamont-Wells Glove Co., glove workers of Minneapolis have organized a cooperative factory which employs 50 workers on a six-hour shift. Trade unionist sympathizers are requested to look for the union label on "Co-op" gloves.

Dairymen's Cooperative Is Victor

The Richmond, Virginia, Cooperative Milk Producers' Association has signed an agreement with the two large milk distributors of Richmond recognizing the association as the selling agency for the organized dairymen of the territory. This brings to a successful conclusion the sturggle for recognition which these cooperating dairymen have been waging with the distributors for nearly two years, since November, 1930. Under the terms of the agreement, the distributors agree to buy the milk produced by the organized dairymen through their association, and not to change prices or the quantities for which the producers are paid the fluid milk price, without first conferring with the association and making an agreement on such matters. The distributors agree to deduct from the money owed the producers five cents per 100 pounds and pay this to the cooperative as the brokerage called for by the marketing arrangements between the producers and their association.

Ukraine Wheat and White Coal

J. B. MATTHEWS *

IN the course of my fifth annual visit to Russia, made during the past summer, I was impressed by the unusual number of beggars to be seen on the streets of Moscow. Dependable authorities there informed us that these mendicants were victims of the food shortage in the Ukraine. Before the World War this fertile section of Russia was known as Europe's bread basket. It is today one of the Soviet Union's most important wheat growing areas. For this reason it is a fact of major importance that in 1932 the Soviets have been compelled to ship wheat into the Ukrainian Republic instead of drawing on its rich agricultural resources as usual. This troublous situation has necessitated some of the most important measures taken by the Soviets this year.

At the root of the trouble two causes seem to lie. Rust and drought were responsible for crop shortages last year, bringing the yield considerably under the estimates. In spite of this shortage, grain procurements were carried out on the basis of the estimates, and with dire consequences. In the case of many collectives not enough grain was left for this spring's planting.

This serious administrative blunder, acknowledged by Molotov in a speech at Kharkov, illustrates the dangers of too high a degree of centralization with insufficient regard for the facts at the source of supply. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars declared that "there must be no guess work in dealing with collective farms" this year. Party leaders who disregarded the lines laid down have been tried for their negligence, according to Molotov. Referring to this year's sowing, he stated that "the fact today is that in the Ukraine the sowing plan was not carried out. It was not carried out due to mistakes made in certain districts during the grain purchasing campaign, as a result of which food difficulties arose."

It has therefore been necessary to resort to some extraordinary measures in order to get all the available food surplus on the market. Most important of these was the cancelling, in mid-summer, of contracts between the collectives and the food syndicates to permit the collectives, as well as the individual peasants, to sell their crop surplus on the open market. Prices on the open market have soared recently, and this measure was intended in part to reduce them. But it also lessened the trade in the coöperatives, where prices are much lower than those on the market.

This was not a return to capitalism, even thou the measures had similarities to the New Econom Policy of 1921, formed when the Kronstadt revolt l Lenin to abandon military communism in favor more private enterprise. Nor does the situation inc cate the early collapse of the Soviet regime except the wishful thinking of those who have not been di couraged from predicting the downfall of Sovietis by these 15 years of progress in Russia. Socialism far more firmly established in 1932 than it was 1921. Having survived the horrors of military inte vention, counter-revolution, and famine in years whe there was little of socialist achievement to show, the is no reason to expect that the present agricultura crisis will shake the foundations of the government.

THE latest move of the Kremlin in withdrawing th permission of collectives to sell in the open ma ket, two months after its promulgation of the decre permitting such private enterprise, is a highly inte esting example of the extreme sensitiveness of th authorities to conditions throughout the Union. N other government in the world has such elasticity in it policies. Within a pretty rigid framework of theor there is an amazing amount of experimentation suc as would be impossible under the more cumbersom forms of democracy. This is not to infer that th slowness of capitalistic states to respond to the dir needs of their peoples is always chargeable to demo cratic institutions, since it is plainly due more often t the desire to protect a class interest; but it is a recogni tion of the advantages, along with the disadvantages of centralization of control over policy. Whethe there has been a sudden appearance of numerous an dangerous speculators as a result of the mid-summe policy of free marketing, or whether the governmen now feels itself better able to handle the situatio without recourse to such "right opportunism," it i impossible to say. It is only certain that the funda mental problem of the food shortage has not yet bee solved, and also that the government is fully sensitiv to its seriousness.

It is not my purpose here to go into the details o the transportation question, but simply to call atten tion to a problem which is most acute. I find it diffi cult to pass over a situation which made it necessar to spend 12 hours on a train that traveled only 6 miles, or to forget the slowness of the train—thre hours behind schedule—which condemned me to 24-hour exile in the Polish border town of Podwolo

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yska with a discomfort appropriate to the name. enes at the railway stations in the Ukraine are some- mes heartbreaking. Every time a train pulls into the rger cities there is a near riot on the part of the ndreds who struggle for places in the cars. The rl conductors fight valiantly to prevent overcrowd- g. Reports indicate that many of these peasants ve left home in order to buy grain in other districts, ther for sale or personal use, and that some of their any bags which they have such difficulty in getting oard the train are laden with the family's food sup- ly.

MEANWHILE the program of industrial construction in the Ukraine has proceeded with characristic Bolshevik tempo and the future of the Republic of the Ukrainians would seem bright after the agricultural problem has been solved. On the right bank of the river just below the Dneprostroy Dam workmen have prepared a garden for the festivities of October 10, when the formal opening of the power plant will take place. Though commercial power was first produced here on May 1—six months ahead of schedule—October 10 has been designated as the day on which to signalize with due formality this first major victory in the campaign for the conquest of "white coal." The publishers of Mr. Isaac Don Levine's latest book state in their announcements: "The Five Year Plan in his hands ceases to be a jumble of statistics and becomes one of the most tragic dramas of the modern world." An unimpeachable statement of fact, no doubt, but luckily the accomplishment of the Five Year Plan is in more friendly hands—millions of them —than those of Mr. Levine. No distorted narrative can alter the facts of fulfillment such as this gigantic enterprise of concrete, which harnesses the waters of the Dnieper and means high romance instead of tragic drama for the future development of the Ukraine.

The annoying physical discomforts of reaching this great project, traveling on trains that move at anything but a Bolshevik tempo, battling for fresh air against the wishes of unliquidated peasants who avoid it as they would some dreadful disease, were pretty bad but not quite terrible enough to take the edge off the enthusiasm which this mighty plant generates in any imaginative person. A plentiful supply of superlatives should be taken to Russia by all visitors. The phenomenal speed with which the project was completed, the size of the generators, the model character of the new city, the industrial importance of the new power available, the navigation possibilities connecting the Baltic and the Black Seas, and the irrigation of the surrounding steppes of the region—all are worthy of a place in the lengthening list of Soviet superlatives.

When I was first in Russia, just before the launching of the Five Year Plan, there was nothing here but the old town of Kichkas. Since then the feverish pace of some fifty thousand inexperienced workers has enabled them to pour almost a million cubic yards of concrete into the largest dam ever constructed. Its length is 2,500 feet and its height 170 feet. While it surpasses Muscle Shoals in size, it is smaller than the Hoover Dam will be when completed; but by the time the latter project is finished, still greater dams will be thrown across the Volga and the Angara Rivers as major projects scheduled for the second Five Year Plan.

A new model city with 100,000 inhabitants has arisen here. A visiting American housing expert pronounces it almost ideal. I occupied not a hotel room but a two-room apartment which compares favorably with my middle-class apartment in New York City. It is like the thousands of others which the workers will occupy in this slumless urban infant. Every attention has been given to light and air in these great blocks of apartments. Schools, hospitals, parks, theatres, clubs, and stores are conveniently located according to the best standards of city planning.

The power plant will feed a combination of industries which together constitute one of the most ambitious undertakings in the world. These industrial plants are already nearing completion. Among them will be a steel mill with an output of 1,250,000 tons yearly, a coke plant with a capacity of 1,500,000 tons, a ferro-alloys plant, a chemical plant, an aluminum plant with an output of 20,000 tons yearly, and cement and brick plants.

Between the site of the dam and the town of Dnepropetrovsk, a distance of one hundred kilometers, the Dnieper River formerly fell over impassable rapids. The dam has raised the level of the water 120 feet and thus made the river navigable throughout its entire length from the Black Sea northward 1300 miles. A short canal in the north will make possible connection with the Baltic. It was this consideration which led to the choice of the site for the dam. Three locks, each with a rise of 41 feet, on the left bank of the river will permit the passage of steamers with their cargoes of oil, grain and lumber. The new reservoir will irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres of now thirsty soil on the surrounding Ukrainian steppes. The future use of electricity in agriculture should not be forgotten in estimating this achievement in the conquest of "white coal" at Dneprostroy.

THE completion of Dneprostroy will bring the total output of the U. S. S. R. up to 17 billion kilowatt hours at the end of the Five Year Plan. This is about one-fifth of the amount now produced in the United States. It exceeds, however, the output of England by a slight margin. But Dneprostroy is only the beginning, and this fact adds importance to the occa-

sion of the celebration on the tenth of October. The second Five Year Plans calls for 100 billion kilowatt hours, thus surpassing the present production of the United States by 1937. The impress of Lenin's thought on this program is as clearly discernible as his statue is ubiquitous throughout the Soviet Union today. In 1921, in a chapter entitled "The Material Basis of Socialism and Russia's Plan of Electrification," he wrote, "Large-scale industry, brought to the level of the latest technique and capable of reorganizing agriculture, means the electrification of the whole country." It was Lenin who loved to speak of the time when the Soviets would swap horses—the emaciated horse of the peasant, fit for a ruined peasant country, for the horse of electrical power, fit for the land of the proletariat.

On Dneprostroy and kindred projects the Soviets will spend billions of rubles. Seventy-five percent of the budget of the U. S. S. R. goes into such plant construction. Only five percent is used for national defense in the military sense of the phrase. Under the second Five Year Plan, as discussed by Molotov at the 17th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the electrification program has been allotted the highest rate of development—an increase of six fold. In this area of the Soviet economy Bolshevik tempo will reach its maximum. Already the cry has arisen, "On to Volgastroy! On to Angarastroy!"

What Is Violence?

GEORGE A. COE

THE decision of Mr. Gandhi to starve himself as a means of bringing his fellow Indians and the British to their senses thrusts into the light an obscurity in the current antithesis between violence and non-violence as methods of social change. Killing a human being surely is the employment of what is ordinarily meant by violence. That this human being is oneself rather than another does not alter the nature of the act as far as violence, in the ordinary sense, is concerned. Rather, the deliberate selection of a particular person for this fate accentuates the question how such an act can be included in a policy of non-violence. I do not mean to intimate that the Mahatma has departed a hair's breadth from his announced principles, but rather that his principles themselves are ambiguous. There is, of course, an enormously important difference between his line of conduct and that of the violent among his countrymen, but the nature of this difference has not been made clear.

We of the West who favor drastic social reconstruction but shrink from forcible coercion have likewise failed to define the boundaries of our intended conduct. If anyone has even attempted to define the violence from which we shrink, I have not been fortunate enough to learn of the fact. Moral judgments have been plentiful, but the object judged, the *fact-element* in the judgment, is shadowy.

The usual assumption appears to be that one passes over from non-violence to violence if, in addition to mental influences, one employs unwelcome mechanical means and measures, especially such means as cannot be reversed by the one towards whom they are directed. Here fall such acts as destroying or maiming a human body, or putting it under physical restraint; taking away the means of life, such as food, or the instruments of voluntary activity, implements for the production of goods and for the communication of ideas. Threats of such action likewise are accounted violent; indeed, putting one in terror of physical harm is recognized by the common law as one mode of assault.

Some persons would include under the head of violence not only the taking away of the means of life and action, but also preventing men from securing these means, as by an embargo. But here a gap in the concept of violence begins to appear. For mere non-intercourse, mere refusal to buy and sell, can produce hunger and death just as surely as an embargo by means of warships. Shall we, then, include such non-intercourse, which is mechanical passivity rather than mechanical action, under the category of violent conduct? I do not see how the answer, if violence is an ethically significant concept, can be anything other than affirmative. For certainly, given the present interdependence of men, we can weaken, distort, and destroy the bodies of our fellows by merely doing nothing. We can gain the ends of overt violence either by employing mechanical forces or by declining to employ them.

IT appears, therefore, that the ethical distinction that we have in mind is not happily expressed by the terms "violent" and "non-violent." This will be the more evident if we ask ourselves how even non-violent mental influences operate. For communication between persons is a psycho-physical affair; we know of no bodiless, non-mechanical social relation whatever. When you speak to me, you start mechanical processes in the air, in my ears, and in my brain—processes from which I have no means of escape if I am in your presence. Hence it is that a spoken word can smite as truly as a fist. Public opinion can restrain me physi-

lly as effectively as prison bars. A few whispers in community can start a run upon a bank. A prejuce passed on from parents to children can disinherit whole race economically and socially.

Yet the current antithesis between violent and nonolent, unclear though it be, points towards an ethical stinction, a real difference in conduct, that is immeasrably great. This difference, as our discussion should elp us to see, concerns altogether our relations to one nother as persons, not at all the contrast between ental and physical forces. The really basic demand f the non-violents is that we recognize ultimate worth every person without exception, even in our worst nemies. Here is the reason for recoiling from the use f physical compulsion: it seems to place ultimate reliince upon what is non-spiritual, non-ethical; it lends itself too readily to selfishness and self-will; it sets erson against person, and thus tends to multiply the riginal evil.

This reasoning is sound as far as it goes, but its fficiency as a guide for conduct depends upon a factlement in experience, namely, the conditions that pronote or hinder the realization of ourselves as persons. hese conditions cannot be ascertained *a priori,* and hey are not included in the concept of the value of perons. In our conduct we have to do with cause-and-ffect relations within the order of nature; specifically, elations within a psycho-physical complex. Empirical esearch has shown that we develop as persons through eciprocity with one another as well as through nanipulation of things. But these two factors do not tand upon the same level. Without reciprocity, delopment is impossible, no matter how much opporunity or freedom one has in the mechanical sphere. He who oppresses his fellows depresses his own self. Respect for his personality, therefore, cannot be effecively exercised by permitting him to persist in his conduct. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that some hildren and some adults "come to themselves" only hrough encountering an ultimatum that thwarts their lesires.

NOR is this the whole of the matter. Since the value of persons is our basic consideration, we ave to do with a triadic relationship. We have to guard and promote personality not only in the oppressor and in ourselves as would-be deliverers, but lso in the whole of a given society. Injustice, when t is habitual, rooted, and from its own point of view successful, becomes conventional, an accepted thing, and a force in the informal education that every society bestows upon the young. Such a social atmosphere is full of disease-germs of the spirit. Witness the ethical stupefying of our young people, and the ethical paralysis of the present generation of adults, because of daily contacts with greed that is allowed to have its own way. Is it not clear that by abstaining from the use of force to stop injustice we might abandon to an evil fate both the personality of the oppressor and the personalities of the rising generation? Irresistible mechanical action against stubborn men is the only way, under some conditions, to demonstrate complete respect for persons.

The test of all proposals to employ compulsion, and likewise of every refusal to employ it, is this: Is the proposed act or inaction likely to increase, in the long run, the reciprocity through which personality thrives and in which society has its being? Will the growth of children into distinct, varied, self-determining men and women be protected and furthered? Will the coöperative mastery and use of natural resources increase? Will these resources be devoted more than now to the development and use of the worthwhile capacities of men?

By this test all governmental compulsions are to be judged. From the confused point of view that we have been considering, taxation might be construed as violence. Indeed, the cry of "confiscation" attends almost any endeavor to increase taxes. But the ethical question is, Does this tax provide opportunity for the life, growth, happiness and fellowship of the persons who are affected by it? This, and this only, determines the ethical limits of the taxing power. Similarly, the police power in all its phases, and the participation of government in production and distribution, are to be weighed, not in the scales of abstract and pre-determined rights, but by noting the level of personal life and fellowship that they produce in the long run. Any use of force that raises this level is justified. To deny this would imply either that we subordinate persons to things, or else that some persons are mere means while others are ends.

The practical problem that hides within the antithesis, "non-violence versus violence," can be solved therefore only by a pragmatic and scientific inquiry into the question, What use of force does, as a matter of fact, protect life, further health and growth, increase mutuality, and enrich enjoyments? The great illusion that befogs the world concerns this matter of fact. Men expect from force what it does not accomplish, at the same time that they refuse to employ force where it would be socially constructive. The demonstrable folly of war is that it expends enormous and irreplaceable resources of every sort without attaining the idealistic ends that it sets before itself. To become a pacifist, one need only be realistic. The non-pacifists are the visionaries; they are the "impracticable idealists"! Similarly, the faults of our dreadful penal system and the lack of system center, as Warden Lawes has shown in his remarkable book on Sing Sing, constitute a persistent illusion concerning the effectiveness of force.

CONCERNING all class rule two things can be said: It maintains itself ultimately, whatever its legal form, by reliance upon force rather than consent, and it does not and cannot provide the conditions for maximum personal growth whether of the privileged few or of the many. The fact that special privilege warps the personalities of its beneficiaries has an important bearing upon the method of getting rid of this sort of social incubus. These ailing personalities cannot cure themselves; they have neither the insight nor the grit to do it; "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle." Their privileges must be removed by surgery; there is no other way. This implies on the part of men of good will an implacable determination to enforce laws that are good, to make and enforce needed new laws, to apply economic pressure, to destroy the social standing of oppressors and parasites, to circumvent their designs to employ armed force, and in general to exhaust them by unremitting aggressive action on all sides. This policy relies fundamentally upon wit rather than upon might, upon developing and organizing and toning up the wit of increasing masses of men. At strategic points it may require the forcible disarming of the armed. If the food supply of the world should be concentrated in the hands of a few while the many hunger, no ethical reason could be alleged why the masses should not take forcible possession of the means for their life and for the health and growth of their children. And if a defender of special privilege should interpose his body between hungry children and available food, his body should be gotten out of the way. It should be gotten out of the way by the method that gives greatest promise of releasing his mind from its prison, but in any case the children should be fed.

This is dangerous doctrine, undoubtedly; but all policies with respect to special privilege are dangerous. They are dangerous, all of them, for one and the same reason—our proneness to forget that the ultimate victory must lie in a positive increase of fellowship among enriched personalities. Absolute pacifists and non-resisters do not escape this danger. To the degree that they are unready to apply a pragmatic test to the use of force, alleging that they are unwilling to invade the sacredness of the oppressor's personality, they are in danger of ignoring the sacredness of child-personalities that at the moment are being stunted and distorted by agencies that could in some cases be checked by a judicious show of determined force.

WHAT about the extra-legal use of force? Are we ethically restricted to constitutional measures only? The answer depends upon whether the state is created by society for its ends, or society is created by the state for its ends. Is our ethical life the source of law, or is law the source of ethical obligation? A strange doctrine concerning law and orc has been springing up in the United States. In childhood and youth I was definitely taught that th is a right of revolution; that order is not heave first law, but justice, and that justice is to be measur in scales that common men, not merely officials, h in their hand. But the school department of one our states has announced that the right of revoluti no longer exists, and on every hand social conservati warns us that to overstep law and order is the worst all human sins, the very height of immorality a irreligion.

It is not necessary to expatiate upon the "law a order" of those who manipulate legislatures and c gresses in their own interest, then evade the laws lawyers' devices, and finally control courts, police, a army on behalf of their special privileges. Let not be misled into any tit for tat, any imitation this kind of disorder. But surely we should be awa that the state is a creature of society, not society creature of the state; that law is not sacred, but on persons; and that so-called law and order is disord and immorality whenever it is the instrument of privileged class. It is monstrous that a personalit depressing nationalism and its laws should be su rounded with a halo of sanctity. Why should we the West, the homeland of liberty, be less hospitab to the possible need of civil disobedience than the n tionalists of ancient, patient India?

This, again, is dangerous doctrine, but so is eve possible attitude with respect to the matter. Th least dangerous attitude is that which trusts rath than fears the desires of the masses, makes law plast to these desires, and never excludes the possibility th government will become so stupid that disobedience better than obedience.

The sum of the matter is that, as long as violen and non-violence are conceived in physical or mechan cal terms, the distinction between them carries no eth cal meaning whatever; that ethical meaning is reache for the first time when we fix attention upon the growt of immature persons and the possible integration mature ones into a rich and varied voluntary fello ship; that the use of force, psychical and mechanica is unavoidable, whatever our plans and purposes; tha force is one essential to fellowship, and that failure t use it aggressively for social ends implicates us in othe people's aggressive use of it for anti-social ends; tha the ethically justified scope of force is not restricted t what is commanded or permitted by law; that the te for all employment of force is its observed effect i opportunities and incentives for growth of perso and for fellowship and coöperation; and that, finall the danger that is in this doctrine is inherent in pe sonal life as such—it is a risk that the Creator too when he made man.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

The Impotence of Liberalism

Beveridge and the Progressive Era. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton, Mifflin Company. $5.00.

THE strength and weaknesses of liberalism are vividly revealed in this fascinating biography. In his keynote address at the Progressive Convention in 1912, the former Senator and peerless orator from Indiana shouted: "Behind rotten laws and preventing sound laws stands the corrupt boss; behind the corrupt boss stands the robber interest; and behind these powers of plage stands bloated human greed. It is this invisible government we must destroy if we would save American institutions." The listening delegates included many of the most brilliant and devoted social workers, educators, religious leaders, journalists and statesmen of the nation. Aflame with social passion and burning with indignation against injustice, with tumult and shouting, they acclaimed Teddy Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson as the standard-bearers of the new crusade, surging into the streets singing, "Onward Christian Soldiers! Marching as to war."

Yet within a few short months the movement was far advanced toward dissolution and at the end of a quadrennium it ingloriously flickered out. A primary explanation for this dismal outcome was the fickleness and treachery of the Rough Rider, who sought to use the new party as a springboard back into the Presidency, and who, failing in this ambition, tossed the new mechanism aside as worthless. But a deeper reason is found in the shallow and superficial political philosophy underlying the entire movement. The Progressives wanted to lop off the excesses of capitalistic individualism and remedy its major injustices, but they had no thought whatever of creating a radically different social order.

Mr. Beveridge on the floor of the Senate framed a terrible indictment of the packers for their callous and criminal carelessness in handling the country's supply of meat. His four-day address against child labor was a monumental achievement. Together with La Follette and Dolliver, he fought valiantly against the monstrosities in the Payne-Aldrich tariff measure. He advocated a modest inheritance tax and the limitation of "swollen fortunes." Behind these and other mild measures of reform he threw himself with vigor and eloquence and passion.

But revolution Senator Beveridge abhorred, even radical changes by pacific means. In a youthful oration he had exclaimed: "Let socialism attempt the pillage of private property and our landowners' cannon will answer." Throughout his career he exhibited hostility toward trade unions, referring to the Adamson Law as "organized labor's assault on American institutions." His grasp of economic forces was that of a child. "Economy must take the place of extravagance. . . . All of us must work harder, and save more." The excess profits tax should be ended, the shipping law and the Sherman anti-trust law repealed. Vigorously he denounced the high rates in the upper brackets of the income tax, demanded the repeal of the corporation tax, and enthusiastically supported the sales tax, with its extra burden on the poor. After his return to the Republican Party he advocated higher tariffs, boasting on one occasion: "Every Progressive who followed Theodore Roosevelt and who since has been sent to the Senate or the House as a Republican worked and voted for the present tariff."

He was a convinced imperialist and militarist, Napoleon being his idol. "The Philippines are ours forever," he exclaimed. "The Republic never retreats. Its flag is the only flag that has never known defeat. Where the flag leads, we follow, for we know that the hand that bears it onward is the unseen hand of God." He was relentless in his opposition to the League of Nations and to the World Court.

The Augean stables cannot be cleansed with rosewater. "The nasty mess in Washington must be cleaned up, and the whole place fumigated and sterilized," he once wrote to Gifford Pinchot. But the attempt to operate through the reactionary Republican Party caused him, in a letter written to his wife while he was spell-binding for Calvin Coolidge, to explode: "The campaign sickens me. It will be hard for me to keep going even for this short time—such buncombe, falsehoods, and mush. It really is not worth the effort and time." And so he turns his back on the rocky road and takes up the more delightful avocation of writing biographies of great men of other days, his own biographer concluding: "The old enthusiasms on politics had been cooling gradually and now there was little more than ashes."

K. P.

Religion Through Fosdick's Eyes

As I See Religion. By Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper and Bros. 201 pages. $2.00.

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS once defined genius as "the art of living with the major issues of life." That, at any rate, is part of the genius of Dr. Fosdick as a preacher. He never circles in eddies away from the main stream of human life; never deals with irrelevancies. His sermons never fall into that class of artistic production called by Flaubert "carved cherry stones," that is, elaborations of the minute or insignificant. No one could ever justly put, concerning one of Dr. Fosdick's sermons, that most damning question which can be raised about a sermon, "What of it? What difference does it make?"

The six papers which make up the present volume all deal with the major issues of religion and life. They face squarely essential themes: What is Religion? What is Christianity? Is God necessary to Religion? Is Religion anything more than a fantasy-escape from the brutalities of reality? Can't morals get along very well without being eternally chaperoned by religion? On the face of it, one had better not set out on such explorations unless his ship is seaworthy.

The book is vigorously argumentative. Indeed, there is an element of unconscious humor in Dr. Fosdick's assertion in one of the first paragraphs of the first chapter, "We defend religion too much. Vital religion, like good music, needs not defense, but rendition." Then he proceeds to unroll 200 pages of as belligerent, hardhitting argumentative writing as may be anyone's good fortune to meet in the present day. But it is largely the defense of "rendition"; not argument for religion, so much as the exposition and demonstration of the thing itself.

Rarely, if ever, does one come across a writer whose theory and practice so coincide as do Dr. Fosdick's. He has elsewhere defined his ideal of preaching as "animated conversation with an audience concerning some vital problem of spiritual life." This book is very "animated conversation," with the frankness, the directness and clarity, the honest meeting of objection and rebuttal which characterize conversation at its best.

The essential positions are familiar to the very large audience who hear and read Dr. Fosdick. His answer to the question, What is religion? is that it is a two-sided psychological experience, one aspect of which is active, the dedication of self to causes and spiritual values greater than oneself; the other aspect being passive, inward communion making for the release of inward power adequate for life. Christianity he finds to have its essence in reverence for personality. In both of these definitions, he shows the irrelevance of much of organized religion, the sheer impertinence of much current ecclesiasticism. His chapters on non-theistic humanism are a brilliant example of skillful and urbane argument; his dealing with the contradictions of humanism, particularly keen.

In this volume we find again, in generous measure, the familiar marks of style which have made Dr. Fosdick the ablest popularizer of liberal Christianity. That word "popularizer" has come to have, frequently, a bad connotation. It ought not to have, and does not have, when used of Fosdick. Such popularization as he does, compounded of intellectual robustness, spiritual insight and knowledge of personality, and an English style that is a rare instrument of strength and beauty, is a great asset to the whole church.

H. E. L.

WE RECOMMEND

What I Owe to Christ. By Charles F. Andrews. The Abingdon Press, $1.50. Here is a refreshingly simply and unaffected autobiography of one of the most beloved men of this generation. Intimate comrade of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, no foreigner in India is so revered. Brought up in a home of narrow orthodoxy, Charlie Andrews has come to be most catholic and appreciative of Christians, moved with a passion for human beings, especially for those deepest down.

The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work. By Auguste Jorns. Macmillan Co. $2.00. Dr. Jorns has presented in the pages of this book an invaluable historical survey of Quaker social idealism in the fields of poor relief, education, prison reform, care of the insane, and the abolition of slave trade. There is probably no religious group anywhere which could point to a better record of social radicalism than this record of the Quakers. The author does not present the limits of this radicalism and devotes only a little attention to the change in Quaker outlook which has resulted from the growing economic competence of the Quakers as a class, but the survey is competent and valuable within its limits.

CORRESPONDENC

Justice Without Coercion

REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S statement of the case for jus as a prerequisite to peace is excellent. I am especially gr ful for his pointing out the nonchalant treatment which moc liberal Christianity gives to evil.

I wish, however, to question his sweeping assertion that whole history of mankind refutes the belief that the road to jus is found by surrender on the part of privileged groups or by t using these privileges for the common good. I believe quite as g a case can be made from history to show that coercion has b the chief obstacle to the cause of uprooting injustice. Evil is o come by good and alone by good. Quakers were as enmeshe slavery as most of their fellows in 1725. By 1790 no Qua held slaves. This was chiefly the result of the persistent w of one man—John Woolman. When justice is won by class str gle, especially if the weapon be violence—and often when it is n violent—the victor usually perpetuates the injustice but in sc new form.

The Civil War was forced by those who believed in class w and we still suffer from the new injustices which it implan Instead of such a counsel of despair and so hopelessly backwar look as Dr. Niebuhr gives us, bound by the chains of what always been, we need rather to rediscover the daring experim in which the method of education, persuasion and conviction brought a permanent end to injustices, and to venture to try th

Philadelphia, Pa. CLARENCE E. PICKET

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Work People's College

N the iron mining region around Duluth the Finnish workers have for 25 years maintained their residential Work People's lege (Työväen Opisto). For the last 10 years the school has n run as a bilingual institution, immigration restriction and in- nationalism working together to put increasing emphasis on the glish language.

t is expected that the same factors which have made for such nusiastic support of the school as to make summer courses neces- will make a similar success of the four-month term for adult rkers beginning December 1. To meet hard times the charge room, board and tuition has been reduced to $32, and many mployed workers are expected to come with the idea of training mselves for service in their struggle. The school has been ncially handicapped in maintaining a proper library. Dona- ns of recent books on economic and social questions will be reciated.

Duluth, Minn. WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

SOS.

HIRTY thousand miners of Illinois are today on strike. They stand embattled against a powerful attempt to further break wn their wage scale and standard of living and working con- ions. The great majority of the miners who have gone back work at a reduced scale have done so at the bidding of an cial terror which freely defies all legal limitations.

A committee has been appointed by the Springfield local of the cialist Party to help meet the pressing question of strike relief. lief of all kinds is needed, particularly food stuffs and medical pplies, which should be sent immediately to Midwest Striking iners Relief headquarters at 1031 South 11th Street, Springfield, inois. Cash contributions should be made out to the Midwest iking Miners Relief Fund of the Socialist Party, Harold Kelso, easurer, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Springfield, Ill. REV. DOUGLAS ANDERSON, *Chairman*
JOSEPH BRINOCAR, *Secretary*

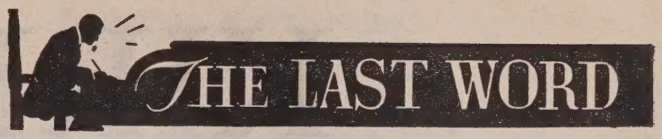
NNOUNCEMENTS

A Correction

HE spider web chart by Louis Stanley appearing in our issue of September 21 was mistakenly credited to the *New ader*. We offer our apologies to the editors of *America for l* in whose issue of August 13 the chart originally appeared.

Prize Contests for European Students

HE New History Society announces an essay contest for students of European schools and universities on the subject: low Can the Youth of the Universities Contribute to the Real- tion of a United States of the World?" Manuscripts may be bmitted from November 1, 1932, to February 1, 1933. Prizes $300, $200 and $100 for the three best papers will be an- unced in Paris during the latter part of June, 1933. Detailed formation concerning the contest may be obtained by writing to he New History Society, 132 East 65th Street, New York, Y., or to The International Universities, League of Nations deration, 3 Rue Le Goff, Paris (5e), France.



SOME of the Democratic victory-planners have improved on the project for Democratic soap I heralded in last week's issue. They now talk of printing on each cake a picture of Governor Roosevelt, guaranteeing that "it will remain visible until the last bubble." This seems to my unpolitical mind highly suggestive, and in the wrong spirit. It might be kinder to supply with each cake a nice, sharp pin.

The Democratic commission in charge of slogans, songs, and gewgaws—those things which seek to stir the lagging emotions of the masses when hunger fails to do it—reports that they have received more than fifty thousand suggestions and samples, every one certain to place Governor Roosevelt in the White House. "The most subtle idea of all so far," says a dispatch, "is an emblem bearing no words at all—just a rose pinned to a piece of felt." I fear this is indeed a little subtle, though I think it ought to be a little subtler. If the emblem is truly to represent the candidate it is supposed to suggest, why not impregnate the rose and felt with those chemicals which make them change color, as some toys (and candidates) of this sort can do, with the weather?

AMONG the wicked things adduced against Roosevelt by his Republican opponents is the fact that his farm at Hyde Park isn't a real one at all, but just a fake farm, fitted up with a dummy silo and revealing an entire absence of hogs. Knowing what I know about the Democratic Party I realize that having no hogs around sounds a bit incredible—especially to a Republican. But that has always, truth to tell, been my idea of a real farm. Eccentricus used to long for a species of apple tree that would, at a touch of frost, shoot apples off from the boughs as hazel nuts fly off. To attempt a perfect series of catches would have been fun. Along about four o'clock on those days when he helped pitch corn stalks on to the cutter belt for the silo, he used to wonder why cows couldn't eat at one meal their entire winter's supply; he could always have done that, or so it seemed, in those lean hours. Those were the days when he rose in time to start currying the horses at seven, and worked until six—that is, up to the haying season, when the day usually lasted until eight or longer. For this noble effort he received the princely stipend of one dollar and a half a day. As for the hog lot, that never appealed to me. There were two of its inmates who had a fiendish capacity for discovering how to raise up the wire fence enough to slide under, until off they went, destined for some far lands of corn and fatness. I knew nothing of Gandhi in those days, and, even if it spoils a good pacifist argument, I must honorably report that I found a pair of speedy legs and a knobby stick decidedly helpful. The only trouble was, the will-power by which the brutes had reduced their size enough to get out of the fence never held after they had once been in clover. To open the gate never worked, for all the rest were shrewdly waiting with gleaming eyes a chance to trade two in for seventeen out. In the spring I used to lift them over; by haying season my strength still gained as fast as the pigs; but when harvest time was at hand, Sandow himself could not have solved the problem in that way. Pegging the fence did little good, for nature had added weight to their determination. Finally, I simply went away to school. I've always wondered just a little, in a faintly intellectual way, just what *was* finally done about the hog lot. No, Roosevelt will never lose the farm boy's vote because he has no hogs. But as usual the Democratic solons, with their accustomed eagerness to present votes to the other side, have rushed in to say it wasn't so—that there are really lots of hogs in lots of hog lots. Score one for Hoover.

Eccentricus

By KIRBY PAGE

Author: National Defense **Editor: The World Tomorr**

A BOOK that is a much needed pick-me-up in these trying times. It is not a "cure-all" for the ailments that harass the body and the mind, but a guide to a way of life that the author has found to be satisfactory. It is a book that will help you help yourself and the world.

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